178 581 596 586 /79 cont./ survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 178 [851] [551] If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identifies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidroraý," son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] [591] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 621 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
[177] Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

2: Schaden--97 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/81 cont./

857 [828] apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning, under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously -- [114] [593] [866] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the village of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not infrequently, sells the produce: with the money he buys some clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to 883 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At 866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do [593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age [606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence, working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law, on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's 593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him /82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa- [604] tion about finding a "legal substitute": the person more often indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

/82 cont./

593 The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son: it goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

59 • 606 With marriage the Guaraní assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father; in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Ñandéva the authority of the fathers-in-law is important; they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Itúva, the [601] same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The [582] Kayová of Banjamim Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilization are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guaraní too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

2: Schaden--99 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[177] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and
415 mynakü (Kayová) (6) --

462 6. /From p. 84 of the original source./
415 Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three
101 Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of
114 eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Pañ. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacü." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Pañ" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pãi with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

/85 cont./

844 [828] The most common of the crisis situations is the one that stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

843 [184] /86/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbüá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbüá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me [828] that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, póso-avyký-á.

844 [593] [606] [602] The one who assists the woman in childbed is her mother; lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group. The Ñandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the [824] navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of a splinter of takuãrĩ or bamboo (takuára); using scissors, "it is [752] ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are [184] applied as "desiccative"; the Mbüá obtain them by burning pindo nuts; the Kayová and Ñandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

/43 cont./

604 This relationship is likewise extended to the immediate degrees, diminishing in intensity with the extension.

Concerning the two conditions of kinship discussed last, it should perhaps be remembered that the author's data are less complete than they might be, since the six informants, all male, did not have either a sister of the father or a brother of the mother in the aldeia, and only one of them had a sister with a son.

606 father-in-law and mother-in-law and son-in-law and daughter-in-law: This relationship varies among the Cayuá, but in a general [178] way one can say that it is one of mutual respect. Nowadays they do not avoid each other. The son-in-law or daughter-in-law might be in more or less intimate contact with the parents-in-law, which depends on such circumstances as the greater or lesser proximity between the two homes or the degree to which the son-in-law or daughter-in-law receives economic aid from the parents-in-law.

602 The Cayuá recognize very remote relations bilaterally, which do not seem to be accentuated more on the paternal side than on the maternal one, and not infrequently there are persons in the aldeia who are related to the majority of the inhabitants of the aldeia, without always being able to trace the genealogy of the [173] relationship, however. It is not an unusual thing for a person not to know the names of the grandparents in case they are dead, or of aunts and uncles who are deceased or inhabitants of another aldeia.

Conclusion

121 From what we have just presented, it can easily be seen that
601 there exists in the kinship system of the Cayuá, in a general way,
602 a close relation between the terminology and the behavior. Each /44/ person knows what his attitude and his behavior in relation to any person of the group designated by this or that kinship term must be, whether one person or another.

608

608 ARTIFICIAL KIN RELATIONSHIPS--creation of kinship ties by artificial means (e.g., blood brotherhood); establishment of kinship through ceremonial sponsorship (e.g., godparents and godchildren); kinship terms employed by artificial kinsmen; reciprocal relations and stereotyped behavior patterns exhibited; etc. See also:

Relations between guardian and ward 489
Naming ceremonies 583
Friendship 872
Adoption 897

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the ñanderu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name ñemongaraí (1). The ñanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the ñanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

2: Schaden--182 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/139 cont./

Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moitendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the flanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbyá of Rio Branco, also goes along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen, who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child. At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly: Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [792] [798] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá: I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of voráí (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child: on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paĩ Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. [775] If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/146 cont./

771 159 184 [504] A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group. On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual behavior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot participate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however, /147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists [571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab- [608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson, he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová, among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the religious experiences obtained by participation in collective ceremonies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and religious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices, as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by [178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of his ancestors: the yvyraídjá, protector spirit, is identified with the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the "little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 177 178 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with disintegrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinction, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One
[121] possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs
[174] today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupi /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guarani, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.